Frank P. Walsh Number

The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the [illegible] Gold

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"Let There Be Light!"

By Frank P. Walsh

Chairman United States Industrial Relations Commission

CHAIRMAN WALSH APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE

On August 23rd, the Industrial Relations Commission expires. The American people ought to insist that every word of testimony taken by it shall be printed for public circulation, so that they all may know everything that has been brought to light. There are strong forces working against this, working to keep our hearings from public knowledge. But the American people must insist that they shall all be allowed to know. Let there be light!

The following is a shorthand report made for the Christian Socialist of an address by Chairman Frank P. Walsh in Chicago. In it he appeals to the people to prevent the work his commission has done from being suppressed. There is grave danger of this happening. As soon as it became evident that Walsh was determined to get at the root of the situation, there arose a clamor for his removal. All the lackeys of the Great Thieves, from the Outlook down to the country paper controlled by the country banker, are asserting that he has "failed in his great task" because he has "assumed the attitude of a prosecutor."

Let us reveal a secret. For most of his life, Frank P. Walsh was a criminal lawyer in Kansas City. He prosecuted criminals. He defended criminals. Brought face to face with the greatest of crimes, the mother of criminals, the American Capitalist system, he determined to get at the facts. And he got them!

Despite evasion, lying, crooked testimony; in the face of threats, protests, loud howls and secret machinations, Frank Walsh kept hammering away at the FACTS IN THE CASE. And he got them!

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his father, the heads of the sinister power of concentrated wealth, received exactly the same treatment from him as any lesser criminals would have done. Walsh was used to the twists and turns of the criminal on the defensive; and he followed through all the devious ways that crime uses to cover its trail until he run his quarry down.

Now that the facts are in his possession, he seeks the privilege of laying them before the jury. He wants the whole American people, whose representative he is, to KNOW WHAT HE KNOWS. And the only way that can be done is for the testimony taken by his Commission to be published as an official document and circulated widely.

YOU MUST SEE THAT THIS IS DONE! Write a letter today to your Congressman, demanding that the Industrial Commission hearings be published in full. Get your party local and your union to join the demand. Raise such a cry that Congress will be compelled to heed.

LET THERE BE LIGHT!

I am a believer in publicity. This may not be judicial, but I am an investigator, not a judge. There seems to be an idea that the United States Commission on Industrial Relations was appointed to keep things quiet. This is not my idea.

I spoke one evening at the Forum at Grace Episcopal Church, Chicago, stating no conclusions, but only saying some things I thought I had learned a great many years ago. Whereupon the Chicago Evening News in an editorial rebuked me, saying that I had acted in a very "unjudicial manner," and had mistaken my duties as a member of the Commission. "This is a body," said the News, "that was created by the Government as a sort of court to inquire into the conditions of labor and the causes of industrial unrest; whereas I was acting as though I were engaged in a crusade against poverty."

Now I had thought that every intelligent and decent-minded man and woman was always engaged in a crusade against poverty. I always have been, since I first knew what it is, with all its misery and heartaches and its woes. And I have never struck a place where there was a better chance for the crusade against poverty than in this work I am trying to do.

The United States Industrial Relations commission was created by law to inquire into the causes of industrial unrest; to study conditions of labor throughout the United States. The very terms of the act imply publicity. It provided that we should hold public hearings. We have held public hearings in all the great industrial centers of the United States. One thousand witnesses have been publicly examined, and ten thousand more have testified

through the intensive investigations we have carried on through experts.

We believed that the greatest good that could be done by this work was to give the widest possible publicity that could be given. The local papers usually carried the news very well, and the press associations, with a few exceptions, also carried our proceedings very well. But naturally only a small portion of the whole testimony could get out in this way to the people. So it has given me much pleasure to do what I could to carry this news myself. I do not believe that I personally am gagged and bound by the fact that I am chairman of this commission, and I shall continue to advocate with all my strength such reforms as seem to me to be necessary.

Antagonism Begins

Therefore I adopted the practice of taking people into my confidence. Anything I thought was striking I repeated in public. I go around a great deal, and have spoken as a guest of chambers of commerce and labor unions throughout the country. One evening I was speaking in a school house in the crowded tenement district of New York on the question of unemployment. I mentioned what a very pressing problem it is, and said that every unemployed man is a menace to every employed one. "There must be something at the basis of the constant increase of unemployment in a land of plenty," I said, and I suggested that inasmuch as we are all aware that wealth, health and happiness cannot be attained except through the instrumentality of people, labor and land, the unemployment question in America might be solved if the government and the people of the United States took back from the people who have embezzled our great national resources and great tracts of our land—what they have stolen.

In saying that I won publicity that could be attained in no other way. There has not been a day since then that every part of the work of the commission has not been challenged by a certain portion of the press, and there has been no challenge made that has not made for the success of that work, and for the enlightenment of the American people.

The thoughtful men of this nation who have been before the Commission agree upon one point. They all hope for reform that will

come from education, from an enlightened public sentiment. They all believe that nothing is stronger than the popular will, where the public mind is quick to focus and is free to give expression. And publicity is necessary for enlightened public sentiment.

Ludlow Horror Investigated

We had before us four great laboratories in which the labor question might be studied. We picked out as the best one of these the situation in Colorado. When we picked it out, the strike in the coal industry in Colorado was at its height. Mark you, the Ludlow horror occurred while we were holding our hearing in New York. Our investigators had already been into the field, and the whole situation leading up to the public hearing that we were proposing to have had been covered. Two women (and here the human side of this great investigation that is for bringing out the truth is revealed), one of whom had left her brood of children in the burning pit there, smothered and burnt to cinders, came East to beg the ear of the national government, and to challenge the attention of the American people to what was taking place in Colorado.

A gentleman, one of the Colorado state officials, appeared upon the witness stand to excuse the occurence at Ludlow. He was asked by Mr. Garretson as to his surroundings. It turned out that he had been attorney for the metalliferous mines, and was in their pay; that he was a major in the Colorado militia, and was the judge advocate who had sentenced thousands of American citizens to prison without trial.

Where was the responsibility? It was discovered that nine of the directors of the Colorado Fuel and Iron company lived in and about the city of New York. So from this thought dropped into the commission by that military official (Major Boughton) came the investigation now familiar to the country. We went to Colorado.

Rockefellers Plead Ignorance

The responsibility, so far as it could be, was fixed in that field. Then we returned to New York, and summoned to us John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his father. They said that they owned but 40 per cent of the stock of the Colorado Fuel and Iron company, and testified they had no knowledge of and no control over the situation in Colorado.

Now our law gives us the power not only to summon witnesses, but to compel the production of papers. While in Colorado we had the president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron company, J. F. Welborn, bring us his correspondence with 26 Broadway. When we came to New York we required them to bring us certain correspondence, that led to the bringing out of certain other facts.

We found that every piece of information possessed by the officials of the Colorado Fuel and Iron company was immediately transmitted to Mr. Rockefeller and his colleagues at 26 Broadway. We found that, beginning with the earlier causes of the strike, going back ten years to 1903—the date of the deportation and violation of the constitutional rights of hundreds of men—every piece of information known to the Colorado officials was promptly transmitted to 26 Broadway.

"Unusual Satisfaction"

Every act of the officials of Colorado was given to 26 Broadway in advance, and we always found immediately following that a letter under the hand of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., approving everything that was done. The strike was called in 1913. Among other things produced was a letter from John D. Rockefeller to L. M. Bowers (who stated before our commission that he was the hired man of John D. Rockefeller, Senior, and had been for twenty years), saying: "Everything is quiet in the strike zone. Strike breakers are being brought in from the South and East, and very shortly things will be restored to their customary normality." On Dec. 26, 1913, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., expressed "unusual satisfaction" with the situation in Colorado. What were those conditions?

Nine thousand faithful employes of the Company had taken to the wind-swept canyons of Colorado, rather than work under the conditions prescribed for them by their benevolent employers. These men were shot off their horses by the mine guards in combat. The first man killed in the conflict was the organizer of the Mine Workers, who was shot down in the streets of Trinidad. Jeff Farr, referred to by Mr. Boughton as the King of Huerfano county, was in supreme command of his county for the coal company, and had armed 350 men whom he did not know and commissioned them as deputies, all being armed and paid by the coal company. "For all he knew, they might be red-handed murderers," said Maj. Boughton's letter. The men who went to the hills had their places taken in many cases by negroes from the south; and it was that particular thing as to which Mr. Rockefeller expressed "unusual satisfaction."

The American people now have access to a public record which, for the first time in the history of the country, tells the whole story of how great monopolistic property interests go about it when they wish to crush a revolt against industrial despotism, and thus to retain their arbitrary power over the lives of men, women and children.

I favored the commission probing to the bottom this particular social cancer, because I realized that the struggle in Colorado was not local or peculiar in character, but presented, as it were, a great laboratory in which every angle of the labor problem could be observed and studied, and, in my opinion, the indisputable facts developed furnish a striking illustration of what happens anywhere when the workers, in their struggle for economic freedom, run counter to the financial interests and to the love of arbitrary power of such men as the Messrs. Rockefeller.

The record of the Washington hearing, to my mind, is remarkable, chiefly because every major indictment brought against the Rockefellers, father and son, as well as the other coal operators working with them in Colorado, by the bitterest of agitators, has been proven out of the mouth of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., or the men whom he hires to carry out the joint wills of his father and himself; in most instances backed up by letters over the signatures of these men.

Political domination, intimidation of the Governor, contempt for government and the American people as a whole, the prostitution of the state to private interests and utter contempt and disregard for the State and Federal Constitutions, as well as for statute law; the horror of the Ludlow massacre; the exploitation of helpless miners by economic pressure and the viler forms of larceny; the attempt to make it appear that the coal companies had met in conference representatives of the strikers, when such was not the case; the carefully organized and extensive campaign undertaken to deceive the people—all of these have been established, beyond all doubt, from the testimony of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his personal lieutenants.

Call for His Removal

In my mail yesterday morning was a resolution from the Employers' Association of Seattle, Wash., calling for my removal as chairman of this commission, on the ground that we had permitted certain "enemies of Government" to take the stand and testify, and had encouraged them. The man who sent that to me was Earl Constantine. I remember him well. When in Seattle we were investigating the conditions of the lumber business in the Northwest, Constantine planned a trip for us through his lumber camps. He said he would take us to an "ordinary sample." A representative of the Associated Press and I broke away from the party and went poking around by ourselves.

What the officials had showed us was admirable. The quarters were good and clean, the men looked healthy and well fed, and I was admiring it all. Then this reporter said: "Walsh, you don't mean to say you're going to fall for that?" I said: "What do you mean?" He said: "You know good and well they do not feed these men on six kinds of cake!"

There were six kinds of cake—sponge cake, angel cake, layer cake, chocolate cake, lemon cake, jelly cake—[illegible] on the table. This was supposed to be an ordinary meal. So we shook the company and asked the men questions on our own hook. And the things revealed were horrible beyond belief—and the true story went out that day over the Associated Press. No wonder these men want me removed!

I suppose what this resolution means is that we had Haywood and Mother Jones on the stand. We had them in connection with the investigation as to Labor and the Law. Those two persons have probably had more experience of the law as applied to labor than any other two persons in the country. But we also had on the stand the president of the American Bar Association, a former chief justice of the New York Court of Appeals, a chief justice of the state of Virginia, and many other eminent lawyers, who united in testifying that the law as it applies to labor is eminently unjust.

Texas Capitalists Enraged

Another experience with publicity was in connection with our land hearing in the Southwest. We picked out Dallas, Tex., as the best place wherein to conduct such an investigation. Our witnesses covered the whole field, including the governor of Texas, the richest and largest landholders of Texas, and also the tenant farmers.

One of the chief newspaper offenders against intellectual honesty in the United States is the Dallas News. It carefully suppressed the bulk of our hearing, and then at the close said that "it had been very superficial." Now, nothing that I could possibly say could add to the force of the testimony of those tenant farmers, the governor and the landlords.

But Rev. Mr. Bigelow invited me to speak in his church in Cincinnati, and I referred to the Texas situation, and what had been revealed. I said:

"We have found in Texas conditions closely bordering on serfdom. So far as women and children are concerned, they are worse off in some communities than in the most cruelly exploited factory towns in the United States, plus loneliness, and a lack of educational facilities."

I could not get publicity in Texas, but I got a rise out of Texas from Cincinnati. Chambers of Commerce all over Texas passed resolutions denouncing me. The Texas senate officially branded my statements as exaggerated and incorrect, and they dared me to return to Texas and make another investigation. After acknowledging the receipt of their statement, I intimated that I would return to Texas; and I will—just as soon as I hear any tenant farmer saying that my statement is exaggerated or incorrect.

A state which at the time of the civil war had no tenant farmers, now has a quarter of a million. The education of children is sacrificed to the production of cotton, in that chivalrous American state that has women working in the fields up to two days before childbirth. We passed through communities where children commonly go to work in the fields at the age of seven. Picture, for instance, the conditions that must arise when a tenant farmer, working from sunrise to sunset and all the year around, makes somewhere between $300 and $400 a year for his toil—including the toil of the whole of his family!

(Continued on page 3.)

How Two Socialists Saved a City

Two Socialist aldermen saved Chicago from riot, when a bloody war through all its streets impended, because of a street-car strike in the middle of June. After weeks of paltering and jockeying, the street railways company and the elevated company had refused the demand of their men for decent wages and living conditions. They had refused to arbitrate on reasonable terms. The men struck—fourteen thousand employees quitting as one man.

Immediately the companies sent far and wide for strike-breakers. Hordes of thugs and ex-convicts caught the next train for Chicago.

William E. Rodriguez

From Boston, New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, the gunmen of capital gathered for their assault.

Chief Healey, of the Chicago police, demanded fifty thousand rounds of ammunition and one thousand extra special police to "quell disorder." He swore to protect property against violence. A few cars were run, occupied by policemen armed to the teeth. The police were ready to shoot down the strikers.

The companies were ready for war.

THEN—two men averted the strife. Two Socialist aldermen, elected to the Chicago council hardly two months ago, placed the city and the companies in a position where they could not maintain themselves; and arbitration was forced. These two men were John C. Kennedy and William E. Rodriguez. They saved the city from the horrors of riot, insurrection and bloody strife. And the story of how they did it will never be forgotten in Chicago.

The strike was called at midnight Sunday, June 13. On the morning of Monday, June 14, Chicago awoke to find itself reduced to primitive conditions. Hundreds of thousands walked to work. Hundreds of thousands more clambered aboard drays, express wagons, hearses, dump carts, freight trains, and improvised jitney buses. It was a rainy, gloomy, disagreeable day. But the city took it as a lark.

On the whole Chicagoans sympathized with the men; for as a whole, Chicago cordially and enthusiastically hates the railways company. It has lied, cheated, swindled, committed perjury, ignored the laws, and defied the citizens, during all the years of its existence. Three times have the people demanded municipal ownership of the street railways, and three times has the demand been ignored by officials. Time and again have auditors exposed its jugglery of accounts, its thieving from its partner, the city, its crookedness and utter depravity. The company is owned in the East; and the money of Chicago toilers, poured into the company's coffers, goes to enrich idlers of Boston and New York.

The men asked for wages which are pitifully low—33 cents an hour the first year, 36 cents an hour the second year. At ten hours a day, this is $3.30 to $3.60 a day; at six days a week full time, this amounts to $19.80 to $21.60 a week. They were receiving far less than this. On such miserable pay men have to bring up their families. The hardest part of it is that frequently, in order to put in ten hours labor, they must hang around the barns fifteen or sixteen hours a day.

On the other hand, the company heads draw huge sums. Leonard A. Busby, president of the surface lines, gets $65,000 a year, which he acknowledges, and has several side sources of income, as director, trustee, etc.

So the popular mind was pretty well fixed. But the council has always been controlled by the financial powers. And on the Monday night of the strike the council met with a plan of action all primed. Only—it didn't go through.

Alderman Capitain, the retained representative of the traction companies, popped up in the moment the gavel sounded, with a plan for "arbitration." There were plans pro and con, and much heartburning over who was to be the father of the winning resolution.

Then Alderman Kennedy got up and proposed a resolution FORBIDDING THE IMPORTATION OF STRIKEBREAKERS.

And with a wild yell, loud and long and unrestrained, the people packed in the galleries let loose their approval of the move. Kennedy needed to make no speech—the people made it, in that uncontrollable howl of delight. No alderman dared stand against that sound. It was carried. The company was defeated in the first round—deprived of its great reliance, the scum and criminals of the cities—its army of thugs.

Rodriguez bided his time. Then, at the psychological moment, he also proposed a resolution, which was that THE CITY TAKE AND OPERATE THE CITY TRACTION SYSTEM.

And the first howl of approval was eclipsed by a second uproar, a long, steady, deafening thunder of applause from the people in the galleries. Mayor Thompson pounded his gavel till

John C. Kennedy

his arm was tired, but it could not be heard. The lungs of the galleries gave vent to the feelings of two million badgered citizens with a noise that could not be silenced.

Rodriguez' resolution was voted down. But its effect was not lost. On the following night Mayor Thompson called a committee of the unions and a committee from the companies together in his office, locked the door, threw the key over the transom, and said, "Here you stay till this thing is settled." And they did. Thompson was made arbitrator; and the strike was off. It was a strike without a parallel. Fourteen thousand men were out for two and a half days, and the only disorder was a block of wood that grazed a policeman's nose.

With thirty aldermen such as Kennedy and Rodriguez, that second resolution would have passed, and the city would now own its own streets. That time will come. Meanwhile, the fact remains, that the skillful work of these two men saved Chicago from bloodshed.

(Continued from page 2.)

There is a different meaning to "force" in Colorado and in Texas. In Colorado it means guns, mine guards, militia, armed strikers. In Texas it means children; the greatest number that can be gotten to aid the toiler in tilling the soil.

No Personal Animus

In regard to Colorado, there is no personal animus in our hearts. It is the system that is under investigation. And if those who stand for the system, and who profit most greatly by the institution, and have the greatest influence upon it, are held up to the gaze of the American public, this is not personal, but an absolute essential of an honest investigation.

In Colorado we find ten thousand square miles of coal lands containing six million, five hundred thousand acres. The geological survey shows that were these coal lands free to be used by the public, 37,500,000,000 tons of coal annually could be produced by the state of Colorado. At the present time that production is approximately ten million tons.

Why is not the rest of it being taken out? Why is a small fraction of one per cent only of that coal being produced? The mining company's witnesses in Colorado declare that 90 per cent of the unused coal lands are under government ownership. Then why is it held out of public use?

We refer again to a letter from Mr. L. M. Bowers. Writing on the situation a few months after the strike was inaugurated, he said: "Practically three-fourths of the full working crew is in the mines. We believe that we can get out enough coal this winter to supply our own steel mills and our friends, the railroads."

Can you imagine anything more illuminating? Coal cannot be shipped except over a railroad—and the railroads are the friends of the Colorado Fuel and Iron company.

The people of the city of Denver one winter were suffering for coal, and the price was steadily rising. The attorney general of the state of Colorado had interfered because the price of coal to the people of Denver was absolutely prohibitive. He showed us that coal was produced at a cost of $1 a ton, and sold for $7.50 and $8 a ton, and that it had a labor cost of only 75 cents a ton—out of a dollar. That vast territory underlaid with coal was not touched. And perhaps at this point we put our collective finger (that is, the American people do) on the secret of the strength [illegible] coal [illegible] furnishing coal to their friends, the railroads.

We brought out conclusive testimony from the operators that the "Colorado Fuel and Iron company usually led in fixing the prices of coal."

Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland, said: "The trouble is that to open up a new mine, resort must be had to an isolated district, which is entirely dependent on the railroads for transportation. The company is the landlord, for it builds and owns the houses and the ground on which they stand. It is the storekeeper, the schoolmaster and doctor, it owns the minister and it also owns the saloons. And when a man loses his job, he loses at one stroke his home, his grocery account, his school, his doctor, the consolations of religion and the right to take a drink; and that is too much!"

On August 22 the Commission expires. The American people ought to insist that every word of testimony taken shall be printed for public circulation, so that they all may know everything that has been brought to light. There are strong forces working against this, working to keep our hearings from public knowledge. But the American people must insist that these [illegible] shall be allowed to know

WARD'S BREAD

In the May number certain figures were published regarding the make-up of the flour used in Ward's bread. The accuracy of this analysis was challenged by the Ward Baking company, which threatened to sue this paper.

On obtaining the official analysis of the bread in question made by the Boston Board of Health, it was found that the figure of 24 per cent plaster of paris was given as a constituent of "A. B. C. flour," which is used in the making of Ward's bread. It appears, however, that this "flour" is not the main ingredient of Ward's bread, but is used as a baking powder, or "yeast food," so that the amount of plaster of Paris which ultimately enters into the bread that is eaten is very small. The error is regretted. The cause of it was reliance on press reports.

This error was made in good faith, on the assumption that the bread was mainly composed of "A. B. C. flour." We publish herewith the full report made by Dr. James O. Jordan, Chief of the Milk Inspection Division of the Boston Board of Health, and published in the City Record, official journal of the city of Boston, for March 13. While perusing it, please bear in mind that the Ward Baking company claim that this use of plaster of Paris is a discovery highly beneficial to mankind, and then settle for yourself whether you will continue to use Ward's bread.

Dr. Jordan's Report

Dr. F. X. Mahoney,
Chairman Boston Board of Health,

Dear Sir: The sample of powder recently received from you, and represented as having been procured from a prominent bakery, has been examined and the composition is apparently as follows:

Calcium sulphate (As CaSO4)	24.00 per cent
Sodium chloride (salt)	24.90 per cent
Ammonium chloride	11.60 per cent
Flour	39.50 per cent

In accordance with your direction to obtain all of the information possible regarding the use of this substance, I was enabled through the courtesy of the Board of Health of a nearby city to gain entrance to the plant of the Ward Baking company, from which it was believed this material was secured. In the mixing room of this bakery there was found a bin containing from 200 to 300 pounds of this mixture, and scales which had evidently been used in its weighing. I was informed that it was employed in bread-making, but could gain no knowledge of the reason for its use. It was called "A. B. C. flour" and "Arkaby." In the basement of this building there were, with other supplies, 5,180 pounds of this mixture in thirty-seven bags, each containing 140 pounds.

Found 9,440 Pounds of A. B. C.

Subsequently a trip was made to a city in an adjoining state, where, through the co-operation of the health authorities, admission was gained to two bakeries, presumably controlled by the owners of the Massachusetts plant, previously mentioned. Permission to enter the first place visited was refused at the outset, but later this privilege was granted. In the mixing room of this establishment there was a bin containing upwards of 50 pounds of the "A. B. C. flour," and a balance employed in weighing the substance. In one of the rooms on this floor there were formulas for bread in which the "A. B. C." mixture was one of the ingredients. In another room there were thirty-two barrels of the compound, each marked as containing about 295 pounds; in all about 9,440 pounds. At the second establishment owned by this firm an interview was had with one of the officers of the corporation, who was present in anticipation of the visit.

Increases Size of Loaf

From him it was learned that the "A. B. C." mixture was prepared on the premises, that it was employed by the firm in bread-making, and the claim was made that it aided in breaking down the gluten, that it saved yeast, and also gave an added bloom to the loaves. He further stated that it probably increased the size of the latter. A request to be allowed to see the place where the mixture was made met with refusal, as also did that for samples of the ingredients used in its preparation. A specimen of the compound was, however, given at the firm's laboratory, and in the mixing room of the building there was a bin containing probably more than 200 pounds of the substance, and a balance employed for weighing it.

Used as Adulterant

Gypsum or calcium sulphate is a native compound, and common names for it are plaster of paris and terra Alba. It is used as a fertilizer, in surgery, in the formation of plaster casts, and has been employed as an adulterant of drugs and food stuffs. Ammonium chloride or sal ammoniac is a prepared product. It is used in medicine, and as a source of ammonia gas in the manufacture of ammonia water.

Classed as a Swindle

The combining of this mixture, even in small quantities, with flour in bread-making, unknown to purchasers, may be classified as a swindle and detrimental to the interests of the consumer, and to the baker dealing in honest materials. It is doubtful if such bread could be sold to the public if the facts were known. That it has been palmed off on consumers without their knowledge savors of deception and trickery. Such acts cannot be too vigorously condemned. If this and similar methods are not checked, it will be tantamount to permitting the use of any substance in the manufacture of bread which a baker may deem advantageous to his interests, regardless of the influence upon the welfare of the public. The decision in such matters should not rest solely with the manufacturer. Consideration ought to be given to the consumer, upon whose patronage the success of the baker's business depends.

No bakery should have such mixtures on its premises, even if they were not there for fraudulent purposes, but at the present time there is no authority or legal power to control or investigate this subject. This condition demonstrates the necessity of oversight of the substances kept in bakeries for bread-making. Furthermore, there is no legal definition of bread.

To meet this situation the accompanying bill is suggested, which not only defines bread, but empowers local boards of health to enter all places where this commodity is manufactured for sale, with authority to take for analysis both bread and the materials employed in its preparation. The provisions of this bill restrict neither the experimental nor practical bread-making activities of any baker, but if substances, other than those enumerated in section one, are employed in the manufacture of this commodity, due notice by label must be given the consumer.

Respectfully submitted,
JAMES O. JORDAN,
Inspector of Milk.

Bread Bill Proposed

Section 1. Bread made from wheat and sold by the loaf under the provisions of section 3 of chapter 57 of the Revised Laws or acts in amendment thereof shall be manufactured or made of one or more of the following substances: Wheat, flour, lard, vegetable oil, butter, oleomargarine, sugar, malt extract, salt, yeast, water, milk, skimmed milk, milk powder, or skimmed milk powder. Wheat bread in the manufacture of which any other ingredient is added, shall be deemed to be adulterated within the meaning of section 18 of chapter 75 of the Revised Laws.

Sec. 2. Whoever by himself, by agents, or as the servant or agent of another, violates the provisions of section 1 of this act shall be punished by a fine of not more than three hundred dollars ($300) or by imprisonment for not more than one year.

Sec. 3. Boards of health of cities and towns or their authorized agents, for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of section 1 of this act, shall have the right to enter all bakeries or places where bread is manufactured or made for sale, and may take for analysis samples of bread and specimens of all materials used in the manufasture of wheat bread, for the purpose of preventing fraud or injury to the public health. Whoever prevents, obstructs or interferes with boards of health or their authorized agents, in the performance of their duties as provided herein or hinders, obstructs or interferes with any inspection or examination by them, shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars ($500) or by imprisonment for not more than one year.

THE MAY COVER

Many of our readers admired the May cover. The following letter was received from The Union Signal, official organ of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union:

"Gentlemen: We greatly admired the cover page of the May, 1915, issue of The Christian Socialist, and are taking the liberty of asking the privilege of reproducing the drawing of the spray of roses used below the picture of the child. At this time we are preparing copy for our Flower Mission number, and would be very grateful if you would give us permission to use this beautiful decoration."

Permission was, of course, gladly granted. The drawing was the work of Miss Helen Nicolai, of Chicago.

So many requests have come in for copies of the cover for preservation, that we have struck off a number on heavy enamel paper, suitable for framing, and will send it to you for two new yearly subscriptions.

WOODROW-OLIVER DEBATE

By E. F. Stanton

An eight days' debate (18 hours) recently held at Marlow, Okla., by Rev. Thomas W. Woodrow, editor of WOODROW'S MONTHLY, Hobart, Okla., and E. E. Oliver, Christian evangelist and debater, was a great socialist victory. In many debates I have witnessed, I never saw victory more manifest.

At the beginning of the debate, Mr. Oliver had many enthusiastic followers. They occupied the front seats and were the first ones to clap their hands. Soon, however, the cheering turned in favor of Mr. Woodrow. Then Mr. Oliver raised a rumpus while Mr. Woodrow was speaking, and said: "If you cheer another time I will prosecute you and quit the debate." Neither of which he did, notwithstanding the applauding in favor of his opponent rapidly increased all the while. Oliver's friends ceasing to cheer, taking back seats, and finally staying away from the discussion, convinced the people that they were whipped, and others became interested and came in and took their places.

A few quotations will show why he was deserted by his friends:

"For the love of money is the root of all evil," quoted by Woodrow from I Tim. 6:10.

"I don't believe it."—Oliver.

"The happiness of others should be the greatest incentive to human activity."—Woodrow.

"What do I care for the happiness of others so I have a home in heaven. Salvation is offered freely to all on certain conditions; let them accept the conditions (one being water baptism) or be damned."—Oliver.

Mr. Oliver said, and tried to show by false and garbled quotations that "Socialism is infidelity." Woodrow completely routed him on these quotations and exposed his falsehood in logic and fact. He quoted Isa. 2:4: "Nations shall beat their swords into plowshares and spears into pruninghooks," etc., and Oliver said: "It will never be." Then Woodrow said: "In laboring to prove that Socialists are infidels, he has shown that he is an infidel and does not believe the Bible."

Mr. Oliver read definitions of Socialism out of certain books that he claimed to be good authority and read out of one book without giving its title or authorship, only saying it was good Socialist authority, and the definition closed with the words, "Socialism is the rankest form of infidelity." "There," said Oliver, "is your definition of Socialism. How do you like it?" Several men observed that Oliver read from a slip of paper placed in an open book by his moderator. Woodrow repeatedly demanded that Oliver produce the book and thus clear himself of the charge of having perpetrated a fraud on this audience. Oliver never produced the book. This manifest fraud completely exposed the weakness of his logic in other garbled and false quotations, and made Woodrow's part in the argument easy.

At the beginning of Woodrow's last speech, Oliver, without excusing himself, and about twelve of his followers, retired from the room. As he did so, hundreds of voices shouted, "Produce the book." At the conclusion of the debate the large audience voted unanimously that Woodrow had won the victory.

Oliver affirmed in five two-hour sessions that the Scriptures teach that water baptism is essential to salvation from past sins and eternal salvation in the world to come. Woodrow said that when a man quits any sin, commits it no more, he is saved from that past sin; and "the idea that a man can't quit a sin, the sin of getting drunk, for instance, without being baptized in water, you all know is false and is as absurd as it is false." "No man ever signed the pledge and quit drunkenness, was saved from the past sin of drunkenness, without being immersed in water, is the proposition of my opponent." Instead of water baptism being essential to salvation from past sins, Woodrow affirmed that submergence in the spirit of brotherhood and economic equality, fitly symbolized by the ancient rite of ablution in water, is essential to salvation from past sins.

Woodrow argued that the rite of baptism in water originated in the co-operative labor unions of antiquity and was originally an economic rite, rather than religious, and into these labor unions, Christianity was first planted. It was the rite of initiation into the co-operative brotherhoods of labor, and the rite of baptism in water was an outward form to symbolize that the initiate was submerged in the holy spirit of brotherhood, which is essential to salvation from past sins; that when all society is submerged in this spirit of brotherhood, the sins of society shall pass away. Comrade Woodrow showed that Socialism inaugurated and society administered on the principles of fraternalism, brotherhood, economic equality, symbolized by the red blood of the cross, the red flag of Socialism and the red banner of primitive Christianity, will wash away our past sins, "take away the sin of the world." Mammonism, commercialism, is the sin of the world and not the refusal to be immersed in water.

Hurrah for Woodrow and Socialism!

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EDITORS
Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, Ph.D.
Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker, B.D.

Downtown Circulation and Advertising Office:
M. Raftery, 69 W. Washington St. Phone Randolph 949.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch — Jessie Wallace Hughan
Rev. Bernard I. Bell — Rev. Eliot White
Rev. W. A. Prosser — William H. Watts
Harvey P. Moyer — Rev. J. L. Gaulay
Rev. Thomas C. Hall

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WILSON

President Wilson has been firm with the Kaiser, four thousand miles away and surrounded by hostile nations with a ring of blood and flame. But when John D. Rockefeller, Jr., contemptuously refused to receive the President's ambassador, asking for peace in Colorado, Wilson sank back into watchful waiting. The Emperor of Germany is hardly even a potential foe of the American working class, though he may threaten American investments. But the Kaiser of Colorado is an open, shameless, and active enemy of our peace, our law, our order, and our national honor.

Woodrow Wilson! The American people have placed their destinies in your hand, with a oneness of spirit never dreamed of before. It is for you to prove faithful to that trust, and to deliver them from their enemies here, at home; lest the surpassing honor which is now freely given you be turned away.

We have trusted you! Look well that you be faithful to our trust!

COUNTRY'S CHIEF LAWYERS DISGUSTED WITH COURTS

"Supreme court decisions are contrary to the constitutional rights of working people!" So said Stephen S. Gregory, president of the American Bar Association, to the Federal Industrial Relations Commission at Washington. Gregory was testifying on the subject, "Labor in Its Relation to the Law." He reviewed the Bucks Stove and Range case, the Danbury Hatters case, the West Virginia and the Moyer cases, and said that in all of them the decisions of the United States Supreme Court were in violation of constitutional rights.

Do you get this?

The Supreme Court decisions against labor are so bad that they disgust even the president of the American Bar Association!

The chief unofficial lawyer in the land says that the chief official lawyers in the land are habitually unjust in labor disputes.

Will the president of the American Bar association be imprisoned for contempt of court?

Wait. The chief justice of West Virginia, former Chief Justice Cullen of the New York Court of Appeals, and the former law partner of Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, agreed with Mr. Gregory.

Prof. Henry R. Seager, professor of political economy at Columbia, said before the commission that since judges are mainly made out of corporation lawyers, they show a decided bias against the worker and in favor of the corporation. Now who's in contempt of court?

FOR THE GLORIOUS FOURTH

One hundred and thirty nine years ago this nation was declared "free and independent" of the English crown. This year we have been shown by a governmental commission how evil a tyranny has been riveted upon us by hereditary wealth.

Help write a new Declaration of Independence, this Fourth of July! Let us declare that these United States are and of right ought to be, freed of the yoke of the Money Kings; and let us pledge, as did our forefathers, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to the establishing of Industrial Democracy in our land. Spread this edition of the Christian Socialist broadcast; let every American read, and do you see that all who read it, understand.

Freedom can only come through Socialism!

ROCKEFELLER GUILTY OF MURDER

John R. Lawson, president of the United Mine Workers of Colorado, has been sentenced to life imprisonment on a charge of first degree murder, for the death of John Nimmo, a gunman killed in the Ludlow massacre. Lawson was not charged with having done the killing; he was not even accused of being present when Nimmo was killed. He simply is the head of the union which was on strike when there was a fight in which Nimmo was shot. Hillyer, the judge who passed sentence on him, was a Rockefeller lawyer, SPECIALLY APPOINTED TO TRY THIS CASE. Judge McHendrie had been disqualified for the trial of strike cases by his furious utterances and his unbalanced acts. Whereupon Senator Hayden, representative of King Jeff Farr, sheriff of Huerfano and Las Animas counties, moved in the legislature for the creation of a new judgeship. This was carried, and Hillyer, attorney for the coal barons, was appointed.

Jesse Northcutt was appointed prosecutor—the Jesse Northcutt who assisted in taking machine guns to Ludlow for the murder of strikers. And the two chief witnesses against Lawson were—and are—in the pay of the Baldwin-Feltz thug agency.

Both judge, and prosecutor, and most of the jurymen were in the pay of the Rockefeller coal interests. And, of course, Lawson was found guilty. For it was this Lawson who at the hearings of the U. S. Industrial Commission in New York proved John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to be a liar. And he had to pay the penalty.

But if the leader of the miners is guilty of murder, though absent from the scene, because he led one side, it follows that JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., IS EQUALLY GUILTY OF FIRST DEGREE MURDER, FOR HE LED THE OTHER SIDE.

The jury at Trinidad has pronounced sentence on the young emperor. If Lawson is guilty, so is Rockefeller; and that black stain shall never be wiped from the bland face of the gilded princeling while memory endures.

TESTIMONY FROM HEADQUARTERS

It was pleasant to read in The American Socialist, official organ of the National party, under date of May 22, 1915, the following comment by George Allen England:

The Christian Socialist Fellowship is converting clergymen by the score. It has members in pulpits all over the country, actively engaged in propaganda work. This Fellowship, organized in 1906, takes for its endeavor "the reaching of the churches with the social message of Jesus," a message which it identifies with Socialism. Its publication is "The Christian Socialist," a live wire which has already gotten many a clergyman, many a church, into active service for the Cooperative Catch.

A statement by the opposition is often of value. In a recent magazine article, attacking Socialism, James Creelman says:

"One of the most striking evidences of the progress of Socialism in the United States is the fact that many of the most vigorous writers for American magazines and newspapers, together with a great array of Christian ministers, college professors, authors, artists and other American-born men of cultivation and influence have joined or half-joined the Socialist ranks; some merely pestering, others taking up some of its temporary proposals of social, political or economic reforms; others preaching it . . . as a spiritualization of everyday life, based upon the supposed social message of Jesus of Nazareth, who blessed the poor and declared that a rich man might hardly enter the kingdom of Heaven."

Will you not help to extend the power of this movement by distributing the paper and joining the Fellowship?

THE SCARLET WOMAN
A Stirring Book by Rev. Wm. A. Prosser

The most effective presentation of the terrible subject of prostitution that I have yet seen in briefer form is the new book by Rev. Wm. A. Prosser, "The Scarlet Woman and Her Accusers: a Scientific Exposition of and Cure for Commercialised Vice."

The vast extent and awful depths of the crime, disease and misery of prostitution are described with burning words and proved by evidence abundant and reliable. Every city and every nation throughout the entire world is cursed by this indescribable evil in countless ways. It poisons the political, business and religious life of every community, as well as the bodies and souls of countless individuals directly touched, and costs our nation billions of dollars.

The author shows how and why this monster of licentiousness and disease is deliberately, carefully, unscrupulously and fiercely protected by business men, politicians, and church men. He discusses what are commonly supposed to be causes of this evil, refutes current reasoning, and proves that the evil roots in profit only, is protected by profits only, and will perish only when the profit system is destroyed.

The book is not only a heart-melting appeal for our unfortunate sisters who have been dragged into a living hell, it is a frightful revelation of the pagan corruption and cruelty of modern civilization; of the measureless ignorance, weakness, or hypocrisy of the church, and constitutes one of the most irresistible arguments for Socialism that ever appeared. It contains over 100 magazine pages, is bound neatly in heavy blue paper, and sells for 25 cents. Order of the Christian Socialist. You ought to read this book. Order today. E. E. C.

NOTICE TO CHICAGOANS

"Law and Revolution" will be the subject of an Independence Day address by Rev. Irwin Tucker at the June meeting of the Chicago Christian Socialist Fellowship, Sunday, June 27, at 2:45 p. m., in Banquet Hall, 19th floor of Masonic Temple, Chicago. Members are urged to attend and bring union men and Socialists, and to make this a memorable meeting.

April 20th, first anniversary of the Ludlow massacre, was observed throughout the country by Socialist and labor organizations and press.

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The reader will get much valuable information and new light in the perusal of this work.
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—Chicago Daily News.

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General Executive Committee
Of Twenty-Five Members.

German Secretary's Report.—Prof. J. G. Evert of Hillsboro, Kan., special Secretary for German-Americans, tells of his good work:

"You may recall, that some time ago I ordered a copy of the Christian Socialist sent to all the German ministers of the Mennonite Church, together with a copy of my German pamphlet on Christianity and Socialism. As a consequence, I now have quite a bit of corresponding to do with these ministers, many of whom are personally acquainted with me. The editor of the official church organ also took the matter up in an editorial, in which, however, Socialism was confused with communism, to which I replied in the same paper, the "Bundesbote." Editor Van der Smissen then came with another article, in which he conceded that there was much good in Socialism, but that the farmer brethren would not want to have anything to do with it, as they would not want to give up the private possession of their farms. To this I sent in another full reply, rectifying this further mistake, and this also was published. I herewith send you all four of the articles as a sample of the work I am doing."

Live Member-at-Large.—Prof. Joseph Reed of the State Normal School of Lewiston, Idaho, a newfound member-at-large, justly claims that Christian Socialism is the "faith of the fathers." He says: "I recently talked to the ministerial association and also to a workingmen's meeting on this subject and both agreed that this is the faith. To make this interpretation of the Christian religion stick, it is only necessary to have the energy and means to reach the people with it. I hope some day to be foot loose to help take this gospel around the world."

Reports for February.—The man reports received from the Centers during February in response to our request were intended for the Conference at Baltimore and for information at the General Office. There was not space in these columns then for them, owing to the special matter concerning the Conference, which accounts for their non-appearance here, concerning which some have inquired.

Keep the Good Work Going.—Do not let your Fellowship Center die out this summer. Have a picnic, dinner, lecture, social or something at least every month. Have a happy, lively, instructive meeting of some sort and try to get new members. During the preachers' vacations, perhaps you can get Socialist speakers into some pulpits as supplies. Strive to do so, and report every activity to the general office.

Indianapolis.—The members of the C. S. F. at Indianapolis are striving to make their Center more effective. Comrade A. Bassett, recording secretary, writes that they received three new members at the May meeting and two in June. They have ordered a supply of Songs of Socialism and are singing the good news of social salvation with enthusiasm. They are planning for meetings in the churches and expect to arrange for a series of lectures by General Secretary Carr in the autumn.

Chattanooga.—Rev. L. R. Robinson of Chattanooga, in whose church Dr. Carr spoke and organized the Fellowship Center last winter, writes hopefully of the Center there and accepts membership on the general executive committee of 25, to which he was elected at the Baltimore Conference. Comrade Robinson is state secretary of the Socialist party for Tennessee. The Center secretary, Dr. S. J. Spence, forwarded the list of new members. They are hoping to arrange a series of lectures by the general secretary next season.

Toronto.—For the present the C. S. F. Center at Toronto seems to be leading all the others in the matter of helpful programs for their meetings. They have kept instructive and inspiring programs running all winter and are still at it.

Comrade Rev. W. E. S. James recently wrote as follows:

"The last Fellowship meeting in February was addressed by Mr. A. W. Manse, who is the editor of Cotton's Weekly, the official organ of the Social Democratic party of Canada. He told the exceedingly interesting and inspiring story of how the Socialists won Milwaukee.

"On March 11 Rev. Dr. Shearer, secretary of the Department of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, addressed us on the 'Social Program of the Presbyterian Church.' He pointed out that the Gospel of Christ really created social discontent and that it is its duty to solve it. He then laid down the principles along which his department is leading the Presbyterian Church in solving it.

"On March 25 Mrs. Williams spoke on 'Woman's Work in the Socialist Movement.' She told us of the work which is being done in the Women's union and the Independent Labor party in England and urged the organization of the Toronto women workers along similar lines. The women of Toronto are now working through the Women's Social Democratic league, but not along Trades union lines. From reports during the discussion, the Toronto women workers are not any better off than their sisters in London, England.

"April 8 brought us an address on the new Ontario Workmen's Compensation Act. It is supposed to be the best in the world. It ought to be because the government held it before the workers for five years as a bait. The distinguishing feature about this act is that a workman is to be remunerated without any question being asked as to whether he was to blame for the accident or not. He is to get 55 per cent of his wages if totally disabled and if only partially disabled he gets the difference between his earnings and 55 per cent of his wages at the time of the accident. If he is killed his heirs or dependents get $20 per month during life for each child up to 16 years of age, payable in three monthly payments. Another feature is that compensation is administered by a commission which levies on every employer a tax, out of which claims are paid. Industries are grouped according to risks and the rate of tax lowered as accidents decrease.

"On the 22, Dr. Sunder Singh gave us an account of labor conditions in British Columbia. Dr. Singh is interested in opening up the way for the Sikhs to come into Canada and brought us face to face with that problem.

"Our orchestra adds much to the enjoyment of our meetings and Moyer's Songs of Socialism fill the bill nicely. We are now ordering a new supply.

"We were sorry not to be able to send a delegate to Baltimore, but hope to be represented next time."

Dr. A. D. Watson, physician and poet, one of the leading social agitators in the Methodist Church of Canada, accepts membership on the general executive committee and reports continued good work on the part of the Fellowship Center and also on the part of Comrade James' "Church of the Social Revolution" in Toronto.

Santa Barbara.—Elizabeth Parker, secretary of Santa Barbara, Cal., Center, sends Center dues for three months, reports hopeful pogrress, and extolls their good fortune in securing two inspiring addresses by Rev. Mr. Fairchilds.

Baltimore.—The C. S. F. Center at Baltimore has purchased 100 Songs of Socialism and the secretary, H. E. Clark, reports continued efforts to spread the good news.

Winston-Salem.—Comrade J. P. Taylor reports two good meetings recently held by the C. S. F. Center at Winston-Salem, N. C. Addresses were made by Rev. Hutchins of the Methodist Church and by a rising young attorney. (What's his name, Comrade Taylor? Reports should always include names with correct initials.)

Evansville.—The Evansville, Ind., Center is growing, according to the report of Financial Secretary G. A. Kenngott, who orders 40 more dues stamps and cards. Corresponding Secretary Mrs. Dr. Strong reports that they have engaged a beautiful little hall as a permanent meeting place and hope to do good work for the cause.

ORDER OF SERVICE

Some have asked how to conduct Fellowship meetings. Plans may vary, but the following is the usual order:

Song.
Prayer.
Song, people standing.
Address by special orator.
Song, people standing.
Collection.
Announcements.
Discussion of subject preceding.
Business.
Closing song.

It is exceedingly important to have song and prayer in connection with each meeting. Moyer's Songs on Socialism contain songs suitable to every phase of the subject. Where there are not members capable of leading in extemporaneous prayer, "The Lord's Prayer" may be used. The "Prayers for Social Awakening," by Prof. Rauschenbusch, 60 cents, postpaid, should be in the hands of every Center secretary. The reading of one of these prayers, closing with the "Lord's Prayer," if desired, provides an inspiring and helpful devotional period. Some Centers elect a regular chaplain, man or woman, for this service. Strive to make the meetings glad with good fellowship and song, solemn with a sense of the vital sacredness and importance of the work, and instructively impressive, with worthy addresses and discussions. Keep out all flippancy and wrangling.

THE NEW EVANGELISM

By Fred D. Strickland

Many of the great writers of the world of Christian scholarship have already given us the groundwork for the New Evangelism. Josiah Strong in his "Next Great Awakening," and Washington Gladden in his "Church and Modern Life," have stated the case for the New Evangelism clearly and convincingly, but the world still waits for the New Evangelist who can put the message across the footlights and get it into the heads of the Dubb family.

However, some little beginning was made in this work a few weeks ago in the mining country of Guernsey county, Ohio, by James H. Hollingsworth, formerly of Terre Haute, Ind., and now of Payne, Ohio. It was in a district where the workers had felt the sting of poverty, but the old dominant evangelism had failed. Comrade Hollingsworth began his work at Derwent, Ohio. Although he is a Methodist minister, the Methodist church was closed by him. The meetings were held in a school house.

The building was entirely too small to hold the audiences that wanted to hear. An hour before time for the meeting to open the people began coming in order to get seats.

Comrade Hollingsworth spoke like a John the Baptist. His message from the start gripped the hearts of the people. He is a gentleman and a scholar, but he laid the ax at the root of the tree. The nature of the message that he spoke is indicated by the following church covenant, which was signed by more than fifty adult persons:

Covenant

"Since the present world-order is enmity against God, our common Father, in that it is based on hate, greed and brute-force, which have produced classes and class strife, and is preventing the establishment of right human relations, we band ourselves together to work for its overthrow and the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth, for a society based on love and justice, which was Jesus' supreme ideal, and which would permit the moral and spiritual transformation of humanity both in its personal units and its collective life.

"To this sublime task of building the world into a Kingdom of Heaven, of transforming the world-as-it-is into the world-as-it-should-be, we summon all men and women.

"As Jesus championed the cause of the victims of our wrong social order—the poor, the heavy-laden, the oppressed, and the outcasts, so we make their cause our cause, for we believe their cause to be the call of the cross to all mankind in this hour of human history.

"In taking this covenant we may not, in our brief life-time, see our full hopes realized, but we shall see some of the world's discord give place to harmony, its wrong to right, its hate to love, and its bondage to freedom, and we shall live in the consciousness of our loving fellowship with God and with man.

"Our personal devotion to this supreme task of seeking first the Kingdom of God, the righteous world-order, will, we believe, reflect upon our own characters, making us fit both for noble living and triumphant dying."

[Editorial Note: About fourteen years ago I first met Rev. J. H. Hollingsworth at Danville, Ill., where he had come with Rev. W. H. Wise to hold a tent meeting in behalf of the "New Evangelism." The effort was unsuccessful then, and Brother Hollingsworth, who is one of God's most lovable saints and fully "worthy," has since endured much privation and many trials. I am glad he is "at it again," and I earnestly recommend him to comrades wishing to hold religious Socialist meetings. Such meetings have been held successfully by J. Stitt Wilson and others in England, by Rev. R. B. Martin and Rev. Oscar McGill in Washington, and by myself and others in Kentucky, Maryland and elsewhere. For fifteen years I have cherished the hope of seeing great revivals along this line in America which should sweep the people by hundreds and thousands into the real "Kingdom of God." And I pray the mightiest blessing of the Holy Spirit upon the efforts of Comrade Hollingsworth and all who attempt this glorious work in the spirit of true religion and true Socialism.—E. E. C.]

The "Manufacturers and Dealers' Association" has been sending a circular letter to the pastors, offering able speakers for their pulpits free of charge to talk on the "City Beautiful," "The Dangers of Reform," etc. The motto printed in red ink on their circular is "Let Business Alone." Thus "business interests" seek a still heavier hold upon the church; therefore we must get into the pulpits with the message of social freedom. The church people must be won for Socialism.

A Master Key to Socialism

Rev. James L. Smiley, Annapolis, Md.

1. Why should everybody understand Socialism?

Because its scope is world-wide, and it is destined to shape the whole future history of mankind.

2. What is Socialism?

The public ownership of the means of producing and distributing the necessaries of life.

3. Name these means?

Land, mines, mills, factories, stores, railroads, ships, canals; also such public utilities as telegraph and telephone.

4. Has Socialism ever been tried?

Never. Communism, which means collective ownership of all things in a limited community, has sometimes been tried, and generally proved successful until encroached upon by surrounding Capitalism.

5. What do you mean by Capitalism?

The private ownership of public needs. It is known also as the "Profit System."

6. What is its effect?

It operates primarily in the interest of private gain. Hence it is the prolific parent of universal discord and strife. It begets commercial wars, which naturally lead to military wars. The unspeakable World-War of today is its latest offspring.

7. Are there any publicly-owned utilities in this country which resemble Socialism?

Yes. The Post Office; Public Schools; Highways; Waterways; Panama Canal; Army and Navy; Administration Buildings. Also, municipal ownership of the Gas Works, Water, Street Cars, etc.

8. Do they work satisfactorily?

Yes. When any abuse does creep in, it is easily traceable to Capitalistic graft. With the abolition of Capitalism, graft will disappear.

9. But wouldn't the abolition of Capitalism remove the spur to personal ambition and incentive?

By no means. Only wolfish propensities will be lost. Under Socialism, the Merit System will have free play, and every one will be able to advance according to his deserts. Great inventors and artists are never spurred by the mere love of money.

10. If Socialism contemplates a Government which will employ practically every worker, will there not be too much power lodged in such a Government?

Not at all. The Government will then be literally the People. True Democracy will be realized. Bossism will be impossible, for by the operation of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, public officials will be compelled to serve the People faithfully under penalty of prompt removal or degradation from office.

11. Would Socialism solve our many social problems?

Undoubtedly. Such practical co-operation as it postulates will make war unthinkable. Moreover, involuntary unemployment will be unknown.

12. Please, explain how there will be no unemployment.

This is simple enough. The hours of labor will be apportioned according to the number of workers and the efficiency of machinery. Every new "labor-saving" machine will then deserve such a name, for it will automatically reduce the length of the working day. This will mean much leisure for all.

13. Will not so much idle time tend to demoralize the people?

Absurd! Men need more time to cultivate themselves, their homes, their families, their friendships, as well as to worship their Maker.

Under Capitalism, there are too many overworked and too many idle. There will be neither extreme under Socialism.

14. We hear much of Karl Marx. What three truths did he expose?

(A) **SURPLUS VALUE:** This term means that large proportion of a workingman's product for which he receives no compensation. It goes into the pockets of the Capitalists and constitutes their "profit."

(B) **THE CLASS STRUGGLE:** Throughout human history there has been a constant struggle between the oppressing class and the oppressed. This is clearly revealed in the Bible. From Moses' time to Jesus, there is abundant evidence of God's endeavor to train men to social justice. Psalm 10 epitomises this truth in the Old Testament; while in the New Testament the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (St. Luke 16, 19-31) is a miniature of God's Judgment between these two classes.

(C) **ECONOMIC DETERMINISM:** This means that human history is shaped by economic conditions. The "bread and butter question" materially determines the character of nations as well as of men.

15. What books would you recommend to a beginner in Socialism?

For a clear view of the goal of Socialism, read Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Price 50c.

A forceful presentation of practical Socialism will be found in Allan L. Benson's "The Truth About Socialism." Price 50c.

Newton Mann's "Import and Outlook of Socialism," is a popular and scientific treatment. Price $1.50.

All these are delightful reading. There are hundreds of other good books on the subject.

16. If converted to Socialism, what can one do?

Work. Join an organization. From a Christian point of view, you will find an excellent field for missionary work in "The Christian Socialist Fellowship."

Its aim is to proclaim Socialism to churches and other religious organizations; to show the necessity of Socialism to the complete triumph of Christianity; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial and political democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood—the Kingdom of God on earth.

17. Do you claim that a Christian must, of necessity, be a Socialist?

We claim that Socialism is the economic expression of Christianity. Therefore, to profess ignorance of it, is rank agnosticism. Clergy and laity must, as consistent Christians, inform themselves intelligently upon Socialism. Then, we doubt not, the average Christian will be won to this sacred Cause.

18. Must he vote the Socialist ticket?

When he once grasps the truth of Socialism, he will see the utter folly of voting otherwise. The ballot is the weapon of social justice.

19. Some clergymen say that all moral reform must spring from within the individual man, and that the sum total of good in men will, by a sort of natural evolution, reform human society?

Yes, so be it. But after 1900 years of Christianity, it is high time for that inward righteousness to have expressed itself outwardly in social justice. The World-War has demonstrated clearly that individualistic piety is utterly inadequate to save society. We must have organized social righteousness.

This is Socialism, the great economic climax of Christian evolution.

20. That being so, why do a majority of the leaders in Church and Nation hold aloof from Socialism?

It is the old story of the blindness of the "wise and prudent." Jesus said of them: "They be blind leaders of the blind." And they crucified Him. Today they are crucifying Him in the person of every oppressed and hungry man, woman and child upon the face of this bountiful earth.

On this account, however, we do not desert the Church. It is God's institution and our spiritual home. We must stay in it and endeavor, from within the fold, to reveal the truth to our brethren.

21. How is Socialism to be inaugurated?

The Platform of the Socialist Party (1912) recommended "The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax, and the extension of inheritance taxes . . . the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry." Thus the "Surplus Value" which has been wrenched from the people will be gradually restored. Otherwise, we reverently believe, God Himself will interpose His judgment. Confiscation was His plan at the Exodus, when He liberated the Jews from the Egyptian bondage. Destruction was His method when He punished Jerusalem in the year 70 A. D. and permitted the ruin of the Temple. Today, also, His judgment is permitting European temples of the mammonized Church to be demolished by militarism.

The God of Justice is wonderfully patient, but when the world and the church will not enforce social justice, "He will whet His sword."

Prof. Nearing Dismissed

Scott Nearing, professor of economics in the Wharton school of the University of Pennsylvania, and a fearless and outspoken Socialist, has been dismissed from his post. He has defied attempts to suppress him for years. At the recent commencement exercises of the university Prof. Felix E. Schelling demanded academic free speech. The university students protested against attempts to curtail the freedom of the professors' utterances, but without avail. Reaction has the university by the throat.

Use of Boy Scouts

M. C. O'Donovan, vice-president of the Chartiers Trust Company, was the main speaker at a boy scout banquet in Pittsburgh. He dwelt on the uses of the Scouts in peace rather than war. "You have here," he said, "a movement that will squelch anarchy and Socialism in this country for a whole generation." If further evidence is desired, write for a copy of our War Number.

Bryan

Bryan's resignation will be judged by the future. It was a stand for idealism in the face of impending disaster. Whatever judgment may be passed on it, Bryan cannot be accused of bad faith. Peace has been his cry and his aim, in his part as Secretary of State, and when peace seemed to be threatened, he stepped down.

Riots are reported from Enid and Caldwell, Oklahoma, where thousands of unemployed have gone in answer to the government's invitation to harvest the crops. Finding no work to be done, they have been starving, and asked public relief; to which the answer was fixed bayonets and the threat of hot lead.

"Leading financial interests," says Washington, will undertake to stabilize Mexico. The phrase is a good one. One robber "stabilizes" the victim while his pal loots him.

Rev. N. A. Daniels, for many years member of the Socialist party, died at his home in Brooklyn in his 82nd year on March 12. He was a minister for fifty years, and a member of the Socialist party since 1888.

The British government is bitterly complaining about the drunkenness and consequent inefficiency of British workmen. And yet NINE BREWERS AND FIVE DISTILLERS have been ennobled, created lords and peers, during my time, by a queen and two kings of England. Beginning with Alsop, of "bitter beer" memory, right down to Haig, the Scotch distiller, those who made and grew rich through the sale of drink are given the honors of warriors, while those who drank the product that they made are held up to the scorn of the world.

S. M. SEXTON.

The William Todd company of Youngstown, Ohio, and the Aldrich Manufacturing company of Buffalo, have refused large orders for war supplies for the allies, on the ground of conscience.